

THE NEW REPUBLIC.

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NO. 15.

Real Infidelity.

In what men call infidelity, I discover the rude commencement of a nobler spiritual faith. At present we see only its dim promise, clouded by much that is rude and elementary, by much that is deplorable. Infidelity has as yet reached few results in any direction. But as in beating a general reaction in all directions against unjustifiable restraints upon human nature, it is something to be watched, guided, instructed, but nothing to be feared. No; the only infidelity to be feared, the only real infidelity in fact, the only infidelity which is a sin in the sight of God, is a disbelief in the primary faculties of the human soul; disbelief in the capability of man's reason to discriminate between truth and error in all departments of knowledge, sacred or profane; disbelief in the heart's instinctive power to distinguish good from evil; disallowance of the claims of conscience to pass a verdict upon matters of right and wrong, whenever and wherever brought up.

They are the infidels who are untrue to the light they have; who deny the plenary inspiration of that older scripture written by the finger of God upon the human heart; who overlay their reason with heaps of antiquated traditions; who bid their conscience stand dumb before appalling iniquities in obedience to the ill read letter of an ancient record; who, in the interest of power, wealth, worldliness, not seldom of unrighteousness and inhumanity, plead for a Tract Society, a Bible, or a Church; who compass sea and land to make a proselyte, and, when he is made, are quite indifferent as to his being a practical Christian; who collect vast sums of money annually for the ostensible purpose of saving men's souls, practically to the effect of keeping their souls in subjection and blindness. As I read the New Testament, I find that Jesus charged infidelity upon none but such as these: the people who made

religion a cloak for pride, selfishness, and cruelty; the conspicuously saintly people who could spare an hour to pray at a street corner, but had not a minute for a dying fellow man lying in his blood in a lonely pass.

In the judgment of these, Jesus himself was the prince of unbelievers. Punctilious adherence to the letter, practical disbelief in the spirit—this is infidelity. Everywhere, in the Church and out of it, under whatever guise, with whatever demeanor, whether stalking along publicly with brazen face of defiance set against all that men deem holy, or creeping noiselessly about, cowed and demure within the cloisters of consecrated observance—it is *always* the same thing, always rank, hateful, malignant.

This it is that corrupts the fountains of moral life in society. Is it a question how we are to deal with this? Can there be any better way than that pursued by the Master himself? We must endeavor to lay the evil bare in its true character, to tear off its mask, that people may see what it is, to weaken its prestige of wisdom, authority, sanctity; we must pour upon it the flood of an honest indignation, and pronounce upon it the verdict of a true Christian conscience. But this duty is but preliminary to another, in which it is included—that of diffusing a knowledge of the truth, and of giving to the regenerating principles of a true Christianity an organized and extended power that shall command for them a willing and profound obedience.

—[Rev. O. B. Frothingham.]

What wonder if a Union, planned by fathers who dare not trust God that to do justice was safe, should be lost by sons crippled by the same infidelity. Yet if, in the providence of God, this Union is to be broken in pieces, let us remember that even such a failure in the experiment of self-government, will be a beacon to light the people on in their path to Liberty and Equality.

—[Wendell Phillips.]

"Two Theories; or the Infidel's Mistake."

Under this heading, in No. 9 of the *NEW REPUBLIC*, I have been reading a communication from C. M. Overton. "During the War," it would be my preference to be allowed to keep my attention to the War—its causes, consequences, and other concomitants. But I am tempted to turn aside and give attention for a few moments to this matter brought before us by Brother Overton.

Brother Overton will not take exceptions to what I am about to say, as if arising from any personal pique or prejudice—as I have no knowledge of him except from what he has written—when I suggest to him the possibility of there being propriety in his giving further attention to his first sentence; and then to his third paragraph.

To the readers of the *NEW REPUBLIC*—particularly those of them who preserve their papers—it will not be necessary to quote the paragraph here, inasmuch as I have nothing to say on it. On the first sentence I have something to say. It reads: "There is such a thing as being a martyr to a mistake." He says Mary S. Gove Nichols wrote this "on one of the occasions on which she announced to the world an important change in her faith and principles." My present impression is that it was when she went from Protestantism—or from a step farther forward than that—back into Catholicism. I say went *back*, because, while I look upon Catholicism as being the original, genuine Christianity, I look upon Protestantism as being an improvement on the original. Saying nothing about the "martyr," I must think that Mary S. Gove Nichols made the "mistake" when she went back from the dissipating, dispersing superstition of the nineteenth century, into the denser, grosser superstition of the dark ages long preceding. It seems that Brother Overton is about taking a step in the same direction. Hence his sympathy and affinity for Mary S. Gove Nichols in her retrogressive steps.

Passing on, he says:

"The fatal, fundamental mistake which I have made, as I now see it, is in building my theories and basing my hopes of success upon the natural instead of the supernatural, the human instead of the divine, the animal instead of the spiritual, the Rationalistic instead of the religious, nature of man."

As much as to say, it is a fatal, fundamental mistake to rest on what is natural and rational, as in contradistinction to what is supernatural and religious.

How much he means—what he means—by "hopes of success," he has left us to infer if we can; and I confess he has left me quite in the dark, as to whether or not he has any defined meaning of it for himself. Can it be he is throwing himself back

among the vast multitude who recognize merit only in success, and success only in gaining the applause of the unthinking? This would be to recognize the rights of tyrants and the righteousness of all tyrannies, in church and in state—for these have hitherto been the sum of the successes.

The difference in change of faith, between his experience and mine, is—his is a going over from the natural and rational to the assumed-to-be supernatural—otherwise the religious; mine—directly the contrary—from the religious, into which I was ignorantly educated, to the rational, natural, moral, attained to by thinking and reasoning.

There is an allegation that the philosophy I advocate at these points is only negative. If not directly made by Brother Overton, he somewhere intimates it; and those he is now and here in sympathy with are generally loud with it. My reply to this allegation is, that when and where the affirmative is an untruth, the negative truth to the contrary is all that is needed. It being affirmed that there is a bear in the dark, the thing needed is to convince that there is not a bear in the dark. Gods and devils, heavens and hells, are bears in the dark. It is the work of religion to frighten with these untruths—these supernaturalisms, so assuming themselves to be. It is the work of natural philosophy, of morality, of humanity, to bring in the light of negative truth to the dispersion of this darkness, covering this affirmative error. Affirmative perjury is to be met and put away by negative veracity—affirmative imposture, by negative exposure—affirmative ignorance, by negative science. But before I am through I will endeavor to show myself and my philosophy sufficiently affirmative, positive, progressive.

Suffer me to begin, then, with the affirmation for consideration, that all supernaturalisms, including gods and religions, are demoralizing impostures, with no better or other foundation than tyrannizing, enslaving *authority*, dictating belief without evidence.

The moment you take the teaching, of anything written or spoken, as being authoritative, you are liable to be demoralized by it. In thus opening your mouth and swallowing the whole, you are in danger of drinking in what is pernicious, what is poisonous. No matter what amount you imbibe of that which is good and salutary—if you receive it with that which is bad and destructive, it will hurt you, in spite of your faith. Faith is in truth and reality a great matter; but it cannot convert strychnine, arsenic and prussic acid into nourishment for the human system; nor demoralizing falsehood into salutary truth. They who receive

essential untruths for essential truths will be essentially demoralized.

It is the work of religion, as it is of politics, to promote partyism and produce war. It exalts party over humanity. Power for the party is what it is devoted to—what it devotes to—what it ties up to. It sets up a standard and stops progress. The god of Christianity “came not to send peace, but a sword— * * to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law.” Say, if you will, that *his* sword was the sword of peace—that the meaning is contrary to the saying—that *his* sword is the sword of truth—“the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God.” Assume for this god, if you please, that he was a teacher of peace; and that therefore when he said war he meant peace. But it was “peace in *believing*. It was peace in believing in *him*. It was war and hell not to believe in *him*. “He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me: and he that loveth son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me. He that taketh not his cross and followeth [not] after me, is not worthy of me. He that findeth his life shall lose it: and he that loseth his life for my sake shall find it.” He was to be *followed*, and *obeyed*, and all was to be done for his sake, to the sacrificing of life itself. And now say, if you must, that this was because he was “the son of God”—“the god of peace.” How the god of peace? Just as every other tyrant—subjugating all to his own will and pleasure. “He that believeth not [in me] shall be damned.” If you think that my interpolation of the words “in me” unwarranted, read the connection in the last of Mark. . “And these signs shall follow them that believe: *in my name* shall they cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues; they shall take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing it shall not hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick and they shall recover.” This belief—for the lack of which they should “be damned”—included belief in his miraculous conception; his miraculous power to feed multitudes, and to destroy fruit-trees and swine; [but not to destroy the devil; the god had to submit to being tempted by this worthy, and could get no better revenge than to send him into the swine:] his miraculous atonement, providing license to sin; his miraculous resurrection and ascension to a place provided for him and his followers. To this end they are to “fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell” * * “fire that never shall be quenched.” Can tyranny exceed this? What tyrant ever ruled with a more terrible rod than is here held over the heads of Christians by

their leader, to frighten them into following him submissively, obeying him implicitly in all things?

Do you say that if they obey him in all things they will do as they would be done by? This they can not do as religionists—as Christians—as followers of their leader. The moment they undertake to do this they disobey him in his religious requirement, to sacrifice *all* to him—to disregard the interests of all other beings for him, for his interests, for his pleasure. The requirement to do as we would be done by is not his. It did not originate with him. It is a thousand times older than his religion. It was in the mouth of Isocrates four hundred years before the advent of the Christian sectist; and in the mouth of Confucius still earlier; and Confucius disclaims all originality in giving it utterance, saying it was among his predecessors thousands of years before. It is no part of religion. It is morality. It is common sense. It is the production of good human nature—of the better among human organizations. There is nothing supernatural about it. It pertains to the conduct of man toward man. It is good-will to mankind. It is practical well-doing among fellow-beings. Whereas, religion pertains to duties toward gods—toward the party—toward the institution—toward the conventionality—toward the tyrant—toward the oppressor—toward the taker-away of knowledge and freedom. Religion is supernatural in its claims—unnatural in reality. Morality is natural. Religion binds, according to the original meaning of the word—it enslaves. Morality unbinds—sets free. The undertaking to blend the two, as in the New Testament, is for the benefit of religion, at the expense of morality. It is the wolf putting on the sheep’s clothing. The profession is peace—the practice is war. It is like the undertaking to make up a constitution and a government of liberty and slavery—as in those of the United States. The pretension is freedom—the performance is slavery. It is a kingdom divided against itself and can not stand. Just as between liberty and slavery, so between morality and religion—the one must rise, the other must fall. They are antagonistic and irreconcilable.

The philosophy which looks upon man as a part of nature, by the side of other parts of nature which he finds himself in connection with, will teach him to treat all other parts with propriety in their places. It will require him to be humane toward his fellow-beings around him, and all other beings and things below him. Whereas, religion will teach him to despise and condemn what it calls the natural, as compared with what it assumes to be the supernatural. All other things being equal, the religious man, compared with the natural phil-

osopher—the philosopher of nature—will be an immoral man in his conduct toward these other beings. He will shut them out from the pale of sympathies that encircle and infold what he views to be the supernatural. Brother Overton is quite mistaken, then, in thinking that the philosophy of nature makes men heartless—makes them unfeeling. And it is religion that has led him into this mistake—the same thing that itself makes its votaries heartless and unfeeling, turning attention away from its own unnatural, inhuman processes, by deifying what is natural, moralizing, humanizing. Religion has been making war and murder from the beginning. It has caused more bloodshed than all else besides. Whereas, moral, natural, rational philosophy is productive of practical well-doing—is in itself peace and righteousness. It is based on scientific truths, and therefore contains nothing to be divided about—to make ill-will and war. Who ever knew natural philosophers, astronomers, geologists, mineralogists, chemists, botanists, agriculturists, horticulturists, pomologists, making murderous, exterminating war upon each other? But theologists, religionists, have always been clutching at each other's throats, thirsting for each other's blood, making the earth a scene of strife, animosity and wretchedness.

O. S. M.

[To be Continued.]

Thoughts on the Times.

It does not seem to me that we realize as we ought, the fact that we are in the midst of a bloody war. In times of war there has always been an enthusiasm evincd by the people that is now nowhere to be found. No wonder this is felt to be an inglorious war, when every step that has been taken to make it glorious and victorious, has been retraced; when a strong effort is constantly being made by its leaders to put down all the really noble and true enthusiasm that has been manifested since it began.

Our hopes have alternately risen and fallen, until the last battles have crushed them lower than ever. At one time we were to "have no more Bull Run battles." But "Bull Run battles" came. Mulligan's defeat; our repulse at Springfield; our reverses at Big Bethel, Cross Lanes and other places, multiplying in rapid succession; our pet Commander having been outgeneraled at Manassas, Munson's Hill, and along the Potomac; and, finally, the defeat of Banks' column, and the worse than defeat of McClellan's forces, it seems to me should have given our people lessons of thought from which some profit might have grown.

Now, where can we look for hope? Certainly not to the leaders who have, with few exceptions, proved themselves money-suckers, traitors, or arrant

cowards! Our Nation needs at its helm men with Fremont's true, unselfish patriotism; Sigel's generalship, and Butler's and Hunter's energy, to guide it safely through this contest.

I have just been reading a late speech of Gerrit Smith; and, truly, he calls ours a "self-conquered country." But there is yet another self-conquest that might exalt our Country, "high above other nations," and that would be a conquest of the selfish ambition and treachery that seems to be its ruling power at present.

I have read the histories of other wars—of Julius Caesar's aggressive wars; of the bloody crusades; of Charlemagne's, where in one instance, thousands of Saxons were butchered in one day, because they refused to submit to a change in their baptismal rites; of the wars between Charles IX and Henry of Navarre, following the famous Bartholomew massacre; and of later wars—Napoleon's and those of our own Revolution. Studying their causes I have said, "Thank heaven, our Country will never be cursed by war again, for the prejudices that produced those, have long since ceased to exist. To be sure we have strongly marked political differences, but they are nothing, they will be settled by the war of words and the pen." So I consoled myself, thinking we were too enlightened, that our philanthropic institutions were too broad for the recurrence of any more war. I, like others, did not realize that there was one institution in our Country that one day would breathe a blight over all its fair prospects, and spread desolation through the hearts of all. And now it has come! The whole Country is enveloped in the gloom of the deepest midnight darkness. Even the hitherto inspiring rays of the star of Union have lost much of their brilliancy, and can scarcely penetrate the fast thickening clouds.

I sometimes think that if Woman had had her just share in the Government this trouble would not have been, and I have hope that her influence may yet calm the troubled waters! While Abolitionists think the denouement of this entanglement will be the liberation of black slaves, I cherish a hope that *white women*, in some way, are to have a broader freedom too. We will see. "The end is not yet."

CARRIE WEEKS LELAND.

Lyons, Mich., July 20, '62.

A hearty and practical recognition of the Rights of Man—of the right of every innocent human being to the full use of his own limbs and faculties—rights which government never gave, and never had rightful power to take away—will save us yet. We have been deaf to the cries of the down-trodden, and are paying the penalty of our sin.—[Greeley.]

Another Love.

I am

In love with Death. Let Life, with bounding pulse,
And cheek all glorious with Beauty's tint,
And starry eyes, with heaven's own shade of blue,
And lips red-ripe with Passion's ardent kiss,
Woo me no longer. Vain are all these charms!
Not long may they prevail against the spell
That draws me to that sober rival—Death.
I see his pale hand reaching for my own,
And see the bridal wreath of amaranth
Prepared to crown me, and my soul inclines
To listen to the mystery of his words.
Lo! what a peaceful music in his voice—
The one sweet note of silver, that can make
The discord of existence bearable.

Not long ago I pledged myself to Life;
Put on the robes of guile and joy,
Quaffed the rich wine of Love—aye, to the dregs—
And learned to join in Pleasure's witching waltz.
A change came, and I woke from foolish dreams,
To find my robes were only galling chains;
The ruby wine was drugged with bitterness,
And I was sickened with the giddy waltz.
God! how my soul longed for one cooling draught
From some dear spring, where eager Selfishness
Did not preside as ruler at the fount.
How earnestly I sought, with blinding tears,
Through every green place in Affection's vale
To find that sacred spot. And once, I thought,
In my wild wanderings, I had found the place,
And reckless I sprang forward; but I shrank
To see the fearful gleaming of a sword,
That turned each way to ward me from the spot;
While stubborn Fate in icy whispers said,
Close to my ear, "Th'will never be for thee."
I searched no more. Dissimulation came,
And schooled my tongue to utter merry words,
And clothed my lip with happy smile and song,
And taught my eyes to sparkle quick with joy;
While some lips whispered carelessly around,
Such gaiety was born of heartlessness.
Christ cure the blind! The riddle of my life
Is folded up, and fastened with a seal
The world can never break. The curious
Will peck with sharpened guessings, but will tire,
And leave it as I left it, unrevealed.

But who will chide me for my lover—Death?
Why he will give me all I long for most:
To this frail piece of clay a lasting home,
In the still city with its marble towers;
And for my fettered soul, the boundless range
Of freedom. Freedom mysteries to solve;

To drink the choice elixir Wisdom gives
To knowledge-thirsting souls; to seek again
The spirits we have loved the best on earth,
And hover near to brighten every cloud
And soften every pang. Oh! this alone
Were heaven to me. An angel's love is pure;
I should not need to stop and analyze
My motives then for impulse, but could lay
My spirit-hand upon the dear one's cheek,
And thread his dreams with tracings of delight,
And calm his soul to prayer, and catch the words
That dropped pearl-perfect from his grateful lips;
And should the precious tear of penitence
Fall meekly, I would bear the diamond up,
The choicest offering, to the gates of Heaven.

I am ambitious to be wed to Death;
To be presented at the higher court,
And witness all the crownings. What a host
Of princes running down the Christian line!
Those numbers that we designate "the Poor,"
Will there, grown sudden rich, appear in robes
Embossed with the diamond stars of Truth,
And fastened with the brooch of Purity;
And round their gentle brows, Humility
Will weave her mild aureola, while gems
Of purest water that the Christ-crowned wear,
Will be the work of Love. Death whispered this,
Or sent his spirit agents out one night
To tell me so. They found me faint and weak
Upon a restless pillow; but they laid
A soothing clam upon me, and I felt
The electric nature of the spirit touch
Tingle along my arm. I know they bent
To kiss my wasting cheek, and whispered words
Of condolence because Life's harvest field,
Which I had watched and fondly doted on,
Was proving such a failure. "Thou shalt reap,
When Death has chained thee, harvests rich in
And drink the waters of a generous love." [truth,

That promise won me over. Day by day
I watch the gathering light within my eye,
And note the hectic flicker on the cheek,
That seems the bridegroom's herald. But I fear
How it will be: for reckless, wanton Life
Will slyly come and peep me in the face,
And fan me with invigorating breath,
And spite of all my wishes, hold me fast
Within those health-restoring arms. But Death
Will some day satisfy my spirit needs,
And resting in that thought, I patient wait.

AUGUSTA COOPER KIMBALL.

In the soul of man, without freedom there is no
growth, and every protest against bigotry is a soul's
struggle toward life.—[Giles B. Stebbins.

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Another Love.

I am

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And cheek all glorious with Beauty's tint,
And starry eyes, with heaven's own shade of blue,
And lips red-ripe with Passion's ardent kiss,
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From some dear spring, where eager Selfishness
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How earnestly I sought, with blinding tears,
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Christ cure the blind! The riddle of my life
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To drink the choice elixir Wisdom gives
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The spirits we have loved the best on earth,
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To be presented at the higher court,
And witness all the crownings. What a host
Of princes running down the Christian line!
Those numbers that we designate "the Poor,"
Will there, grown sudden rich, appear in robes
Embossed with the diamond stars of Truth,
And fastened with the brooch of Purity;
And round their gentle brows, Humility
Will weave her mild aureola, while gems
Of purest water that the Christ-crowned wear,
Will be the work of Love. Death whispered this,
Or sent his spirit agents out one night
To tell me so. They found me faint and weak
Upon a restless pillow; but they laid
A soothing clam upon me, and I felt
The electric nature of the spirit touch
Tingle along my arm. I know they bent
To kiss my wasting cheek, and whispered words
Of condolence because Life's harvest field,
Which I had watched and fondly doated on,
Was proving such a failure. "Thou shalt reap,
When Death has claimed thee, harvests rich in
And drink the waters of a generous love." [truth,

That promise won me over. Day by day
I watch the gathering light within my eye,
And note the hectic flicker on the cheek,
That seems the bride-groom's herald. But I fear
How it will be: for roguish, wanton Life
Will slyly come and peep me in the face,
And fan me with invigorating breath,
And spite of all my wishes, hold me fast
Within those health-restoring arms. But Death
Will some day satisfy my spirit needs,
And resting in that thought, I patient wait.

AUGUSTA COOPER KIMBALL.

In the soul of man, without freedom there is no
growth, and every protest against bigotry is a soul's
struggle toward life.—[Giles B. Stebbins.

The Protection of Society from Crime.

BY W. HYRD POWELL, M. D.

CHAPTER VI.

THE TREATMENT OF CRIMINALS.

The institution, as treated of in the last chapter, should be morally and intellectually under the guidance of one capable, by talent and education, of judging of the capacity, sanity, degradation and degeneracy of each convict, and of treating each with reference to his particular condition; of awakening and directing his human sentiments; of training his animal propensities; of doing, in fine, all that he conceived to be promotive of his return to society. In few words, this individual should be an educated, practical and philanthropic Phrenologist.

Nothing like punishment should ever be resorted to. Whatever was necessary to be done to secure obedience, should follow delinquency as a necessary consequence of violated law, as a fractured limb succeeds a fall from a horse; every offender should be made to believe that his removal from society was not for punishment, but for the protection of society; and this will be easily effected if the treatment that follows shall correspond with the teaching. This course is essential, because the idea of punishment originates from, and is received by, the animal propensities, and so long as they feel the treatment to be intended as punishment, so long will all reformatory efforts prove unavailing.

Furthermore, everything that is done should be done kindly, and with an obvious intention to their advantage. By this treatment they will soon esteem and obey the officers, and manifest gratitude for the treatment they receive. The repose which this course would soon procure for their animal propensities, with the activity that would simultaneously result to their superior sentiments, would in a short time render them happier than they had ever before been.

To such an institution the law should send every offender, not for one or two years, or any other definite period, but for an indefinite one—that is, so long as may be deemed necessary to the safety of society. No one should be permitted to return to society before a strong presumption shall be had he will continue a good citizen. Under such a system, from ten to fifteen, perhaps twenty per cent., would never be restored to society; and why should they be? They are so nearly animals, that, with enough to eat, they become happy in the asylum, but could not be out of it, because incapable of providing for their wants by any variety of consecutive industry.

This is, briefly, my plan for the protection of society, and, incidentally, the reformation of offenders. Though the tendency of society is now toward an abandonment of punishment, and although punishment has never adequately protected society, and although I am confident that a plan, in principle like

this, will ultimately be adopted by a more advanced civilization,—yet a partiality for time-honored errors, a bigoted aversion to change, an existing desire for vengeance and ignorance of the natural laws of man, will oppose this movement, by urging numberless objections to it; a few of which have been already urged, mostly by legal gentlemen. They are, with my answers, as follows:—

Objection 1.—It would not be safe to leave it to the discretion of any officer of the institution, to discharge whom he pleased, as being reformed.

Answer.—Those who are sent to the asylum are first, by a verdict of their fellow-citizens, found guilty of having abused society; and when they can satisfy another jury that they are capable of being useful and law-abiding citizens, let them out.

Objection 2.—They may simulate reformation, and thus deceive the officers, and all others with whom they may have intercourse, and when restored to liberty return to their crimes.

Answer.—Under the present system, all who are discharged from prison, with only an occasional exception, return to their crimes, with more address and energy than they manifested before; hence it is impossible, by any change, to make the matter any worse than it is. The reformatory efforts that have been made in Edinburgh, Boston and New York, have been attended by from sixty to seventy per cent. of permanent reformations, although the measures adopted were crude or empirical. In view of all the facts, the experiment should be made. But there is really no validity in the objection. It is almost an impossibility for a criminally or dishonestly disposed person to simulate honesty. A corrupt man can do nothing like a moral man; he betrays his moral obliquity in his walk, in every stroke he makes with his pen—in everything that he does in fact. Hence no simulation by a corrupt man will deceive the practical observer.

Objection 3.—Your plan presents no preventive influence upon the minds of the criminally disposed.

Answer.—This objection is a great error. I have shown that punishment, instead of exerting a preventive influence, has precisely a contrary effect—increases crime. The idea of being removed from society for an indefinite period, and solely for the good of society, and that too under the plea of a moral incapability of conforming to its requisitions, exerts a preventive influence immeasurably stronger than the fear of punishment can, because it is addressed to the reflective faculties and the human sentiments, without exciting the animal propensities to criminal and rebellious action. The villain does not live who would not prefer to go to prison leaving upon society the impression that he could have obeyed the laws but would not, rather than leave upon it the opinion that he was too depraved to do otherwise than he did.

Objection 4.—It is certainly very unjust and unreasonable to treat with kindness and compassion

those who have been guilty of murder, piracy, robbery, &c.

Answer.—The character of this objection clearly indicates that it was not suggested by the human sentiments, or a Christian spirit. But however this may be, I will explain that separate and apart from the consideration that society, by its neglect and improper government, produces its criminals, it should be remembered that neither the torture nor the execution of a criminal can restore to society that of which the criminal deprived it. The offender, it is conceded, committed a grave crime; but if his torture and execution provokes others to crime, as I have shown to be the fact, then society would be guilty of as great a wrong, in torturing or executing the offender, as he was in committing the original offense. Though it is taught that in language two negatives are equivalent to an affirmative, yet I have not been able to discover that two wrongs can make a right, or that the destruction of two or more men is equivalent to the saving of one.

Objection 5.—Criminals live in the hope of escaping from prison, and sometimes do, and again abuse society.

Answer.—Criminals hope to escape conviction through the lenity of the court and jury, and more frequently do so escape than from prison; but under a protective and reformatory dispensation of the laws, the purpose being in harmony with the best feelings of our nature, our juries would send every offender to the state asylum, as to a moral school, for improvement.

Objection 6.—Your plan presents no difference between sane and insane offenders; it is wrong to associate, even in idea, an insane man of good family with a naturally depraved and wicked one.

Answer.—An insane man can do society as much injury as a depraved one; and an insane man no more deserves our sympathy than the one who is depraved naturally, or through the blighting influence of social neglect. One is as unfit for society as the other. And further, disgrace is not the object of this plan, with reference to any one. The objection, however, has really no pertinency, because the treatment of lunatics is not necessarily a part of the plan. But I still hold it to be the duty of the court to ascertain the offense, without reference to the depravity or sanity of the offender; these are questions with which the court should have nothing to do, because legitimately it is as incompetent to judge of either, as it is to the discovery of the altitude of the atmosphere.

It now remains for me to make some remarks in application of the doctrine I have presented to the government of human beings, whether children, servants, or the offenders of society.

It must be remembered that all efforts at government, to promise success, must be directed in conformity to the laws of the human mind. Let it be first observed, then, that WILL is the only power which the mind has of being determined and of de-

termining under motive; that a will can no more be formed without a cause than a mountain can be moved without one; and that over this cause the mind has no more influence than the mountain has over that which moves it. The motive or cause presented for all purposes of government should be humanizing and elevating, and not animalizing and degrading.

The motive usually furnished for the guidance or government of refractory children, servants, and the criminal offenders of society, is fear; and this is the most degrading qualitative action of that useful, but none the less animal faculty, which is denominated cautiousness. But whatever we may think of this motive, matters nothing in comparison with the fact that its power is exceedingly feeble in the face of temptation, with energetic minds.

From the earliest records of human history to the present time, the production of fear has failed to make good men out of refractory boys, obedient and honest servants, dutiful soldiers, and useful citizens. Why is and has this always been the fact? Because, doubtless, it was never intended by the Creator that moral excellence should be produced by animal and degrading motives.

Hitherto, the whole idea with parents, teachers, masters, generals and governors has been to make their respective subjects what they desired they should be by coercive measures, instead of surrounding them with such causes or motives as would influence them to make themselves what they were desired to be. How frequently has it happened that moral and pious fathers severely punished their sons to make them good and dutiful, and yet lived to know that they were sent to the state prison for crime, or were executed. During my residence in the South, the son of a clergyman was executed for murder. When the old gentleman was informed of it he said, "Well, my hands are clear of his crime; for God knows that I punished him often and severely, but could not make him what I desired him to be." I doubt not the correctness of the old gentleman's motives, but his practice doubtless sent his son to the gallows.

Many of our most wicked men possess great energy, and achieve extensive mischief. They live in constant fear of being arrested, and subjected to the severest penalty known to the laws; and yet this fear is not sufficient to arrest their energies in the prosecution of crime. Now suppose this energy, by adequate motives, had at the commencement of their career of crime been directed to the government and moral direction of themselves,—will any one assert that they would not have succeeded in usefulness just as thoroughly as they did in crime? Let self-government become the object of an energetic man's ambition, may he not achieve it as certainly as anything else? If parents, and all others in authority, were to direct the energies of their respective subjects to the government of themselves, instead of trying to govern them, their most sanguine hopes would be realized.

THE NEW REPUBLIC.

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NEW REPUBLIC,
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Fearing to be Just.

"Mr. Lincoln, we are sure, will not fear to be just."
—[N. Y. Daily Tribune, July 10.]

I should like to know on what this assurance is founded. **FEARING** to be just is the most prominent characteristic of "Mr. Lincoln's" administration; and will have to go down so in history.

It was fearing to be just, that, under foreboding Secession threats, he commenced his career by ignoring the constitutional provisions for freedom and recognizing the constitutional provisions for Slavery—suffering this to be shadowed forth as his policy to be, before he left Springfield for Washington.

It was fearing to be just, that caused him to stop in the midst of delivering his dish-water Inaugural, "depart from his purpose," and swear perpetual, "irrevocable" allegiance to Slavery, under the dictation of "doughface" Seward and the threats of Border-State Holt & Co.

It has been fearing to be just, that he has ever since acted under that restraint, to the constant encouragement of the conspirators.

It was fearing to be just, that he instituted and has pursued a pusillanimous policy of placation, instead of righteous retribution and thorough subjugation.

It was fearing to be just, that he suffered himself to be backed down from putting the law in force against traitors and pirates, by a message from Jefferson Davis daring him to do it.

It was fearing to be just, that he did not hang Mason and Slidell when he had them in his power.

It has been fearing to be just, that he has allowed traitors to be kept in employ in every, or any, department of the Cabinet, while they have been acting as spies and informers against the Government.

It has been fearing to be just, that he has not kept his own traitorous wife and her female accomplices around her, from participating in the work of these spies and informers.

It has been fearing to be just, that he has allowed to be sent back, to be tortured to death, the fleeing victims of Slavery proffering information and aid to the Government.

It was fearing to be just, that he modified Fremont and Hunter; and that he has appointed and kept in command generals whose sympathies are with Slavery, and who have made it their business to sacrifice the blood and treasure of the Nation, for the benefit of the criminal, accursed cause of this wide-spread ruin.

It was fearing to be just, that he undertook to "initiate" a process for robbing the laboring classes of the North, for the benefit of those who have lived by robbing the laboring classes of the South.

It is fearing to be just, that he is now humiliating himself before the barbarians and brutes, begging them to sustain him in the cruel, fraudulent, infamous policy.

It has been fearing to be just, that he has not dared to speak in more appropriate language, by way of implying any censure against these conspirators and this conspiracy, bent on making Slavery to supplant freedom on this continent, than, in his Inaugural, to address the scoundrels and pirates as his "dissatisfied fellow-countrymen"! and in a late proclamation to allude to their doings as an "unnecessary and injurious war"! which he desires to have brought to a "speedy and satisfactory conclusion"!—this being the most earnest language he dares to use, in connection with calling for three hundred thousand more men—to have a plenty on hand for carrying on this sacrificing work for the salvation of Slavery and the placation of the pirates.

This fearfulness of his to be just, in all these and numberless other ways, is now inviting and enticing the European enemies of American freedom, to lay waste our cities and inaugurate a reign of terror over this Nation of robbers and hypocrites who ignore righteousness and hold justice and mercy in contempt.

O. S. M.

A New System of Representation.

The first number of the NEW REPUBLIC contained, in brief, a plan of representation. Something essentially like this idea must be adopted before the people will be fairly represented, or our Government, in any just or complete sense, be a representative Government. I since learn that Horace Greeley advocates a plan essentially the same in one of its leading features, and recently Wendell Phillips, in a speech in Music Hall, very forcibly urged the same idea, as I understand it, as the one proposed by Greeley. It is not the time now to differ seriously in the matter of plans, especially as regards details. There is no probability that the present Government will live to be modified. The desideratum now is to agitate the principle, and all other principles of government, that when the time for application arrives, there may be in the public mind a clear comprehension of them, and a likelihood of their being applied in form, in such a way as to secure a government that shall really prove a blessing, and really answer the ends a true government must aim to secure.

When two such men as Greeley and Phillips take hold of an idea, an idea too that must inevitably be popular with the people, it is a hopeful sign of its ultimate adoption. The plan proposed by them is that of allowing the people to vote for representatives without regard to locality; thus giving each voter the privilege of voting for the man of his choice, the man who, of all the Nation, can best represent him. This would be real representation. Now a man must vote for some one in his own district, though there might be a hundred out of it that he would prefer to any one in the district.

But the voter must not only vote for some man in his district, but he is hardly likely to vote for the man of his choice, even in his district, but must vote for the man whom the party caucus, controlled by the wire-workers, may please to select. It is not representation unless the voter is represented. Under the present system the voter is quite as likely to be misrepresented; and quite sure to be at best only partially represented. Under the present system the party is represented, but not the people, at least not the whole people, or a majority of them only imperfectly, and so long as this system prevails, so long will party and party spirit be the distinguishing feature.

But while the prevailing party is represented, and the people who support the prevailing party are represented after a fashion through their party, the minority party, and sometimes two minority parties, making a majority of the whole, are not represented at all; whereas according to the plan proposed every voter would be represented by the man of his choice. There are a thousand influences, under the present system, that tend toward corruption, and a misrepresentation of the people, and a lowering of the standard of party morals. The mass of the people are never any too clear in their moral comprehension, or too elevated in their standard of action; but the people, uncorrupted by party influence, are greatly above parties. Party influence is always, and necessarily, corrupting. And the plan proposed would well nigh do away with party influence entirely. The journals and speech-makers would exert their influence, as now, but their only work would be to convince the people of the correctness of certain views and proposed measures. The result would be that the people, enlightened and instructed by the discussions, would go quietly to the polls and deposit their votes for men of their choice; not led up by the nose, by party politicians, simply to endorse this or that party, which in their view may be less objectionable than some other party.

Want of space prevents any further elucidation of the idea in this article. This new plan of representation will be an important feature in the new Government, and its agitation at the present time by popular reform leaders, is a hopeful indication. In a future article I propose to speak of other features of the plan.

F. B.

The Union Men of Kentucky and the Abolitionists—Plain Talk.

In the Congressional Globe of May 28 there is a speech delivered by the Hon. Mr. Wadsworth, the Union member of Congress from the Maysville District. It closes as follows:—

"You have shocked the public heart of that State. You have awakened its distrust from one end to the other. But still, sir, the war is upon us. We have enlisted in it, and intend to fight it out to an honorable close. We never expect to ground our arms until rebellion has bowed to the Constitution, and until, by the blessing of God, every State has returned to its former obedience, in FULL POSSESSION OF ITS FORMER IMPERISHABLE RIGHTS. We intend to stand, indeed, in defense of our own legal rights and social order at all times against the three corners of the world, if need be. Bring there your armed forces to emancipate our slaves, if it shall come to that, and by the God of Abraham, of Isaac and of Jacob, we will strike in defense of our firesides; and the Constitution and human nature itself will stand by our sides, and say, 'Well done, good and faithful servants of liberty!' But, sir, we do not expect that time will come. We expect that our brethren in all the States will respect the circumstances that surround us, and will respect the constitutional guarantees which should guard our society against all assaults. Our neutrality, if you choose, is now a thing of the past, and thus, whenever any other State gets tired of the contest, we are prepared to put her quota in the field. Pass our bill, and see whether or not we are in earnest in this great contest for the Constitution."—[Cincinnati Commercial.

Here is divulged, in substance, what is in the hearts of those who are called the loyal slaveholders. Here is the interpretation and explanation of what they mean by the "great contest for the Constitution." It is the Constitution subordinate to Slavery. Their loyalty to the Government is loyalty to the Government as being the servitor of Slavery—the Government in subordination to the Constitution subordinate to Slavery. Slavery is greater than the Constitution; the Constitution, as servitor of Slavery, is greater than the Government. The Constitution and the Government are nothing, except as in subservience to Slavery. This is the loyalty of nineteen-twentieths, of ninety-nine hundredths, of your loyal men—your Union men—your unconditional Union men—of the South. These are the dictators of the war policy to which the North has been subjected until it has sacrificed more than a hundred thousand lives and worse than wasted hundreds of millions of the earnings of the laboring classes.

Contemplate that emphasized expression:—"IN FULL POSSESSION OF ITS FORMER IMPERISHABLE RIGHTS." "Rights" here means the right of the few to take away the rights of the many. "Liberty" means the same. "Social order" the same. It means a Constitution and an administration to put the heels of a few sovereign consumers South on the necks of the multitude of producers South and North.

O. S. M.

Virtue consists in doing right, while the individual is free to do wrong if he chooses.

F. B.

Free Papers.

There have been an abundance of papers that have boasted of being "free," and not a few of them have claimed to be the "only" free paper. Real freedom, in any department, in literature, speech, thought, love or action, is scarce enough in this quarter of the Universe, without any question; but it seems in rather bad taste to make any special claims to being very much more free than other people. Those who know enough to distinguish between freedom and something else, will form their own opinion in the case, and the affirmation of freedom, in words, is comparatively unnecessary.

In regard to "free papers" the Investigator makes the following very sensible remarks:—

"There are but very few free papers in this country, and those that are published are not treated over and above well by their professed friends. One cause of this is, that all such papers are very apt to number among their correspondents certain men, who have such an almighty idea of their own capacities, that they are perfect bores, of whom the readers become weary, and finally drop their subscriptions; and yet if these correspondents are not petted and kept in countenance, they turn the cold shoulder and intimate that the paper is a poor, miserable, one-idea concern; old foggyish, and with no just appreciation of what a free press should be. Both of these causes, the obnoxious correspondents and the falling off of discontented subscribers, make a free paper very difficult to manage with any degree of success. Our own experience in the business has been rather long, and rather perplexing. We started, some twenty odd years ago, with the idea of issuing a free paper—or one as free as could be, all things considered; not exactly interpreting freedom as Gen. Jackson understood the Constitution, but willing that others should interpret freedom to suit themselves, and enjoy the same rights and privileges that we claimed. This rule we are endeavoring to carry out yet, but we do not succeed as well as we expected. We usually give all a hearing who apply, but we are reminded sometimes that a certain correspondent writes too much, and that unless he stops we shall lose subscribers; and if he has got to depend on subscribers, he will find it no easy task to keep his head above water; though if he cannot make his paper as free as could be wished, it is something to make it an improvement in this respect upon journals generally."

Doubtless the only sensible rule to adopt in the matter is for every editor to make just such a paper as he pleases, provided the conditions will permit, and then for everybody else to be perfectly satisfied, give the paper such patronage as they think it deserves, and find no fault. A wonderful "freedom" we have if editors and publishers are to be dictated to by all the rest of the world. The *NEW REPUBLIC* has suffered no particular annoyance as yet, of the kind the Investigator describes; and its Editor, in the "rest of mankind" notice in advance that they are welcome to find all the fault they feel will

conduce to their happiness, without fearing that they will at all disturb the Editor's digestion or the quietness of his sleep. All who are anxious to have a paper that is just right, and conclude that there are none such among the thousands that are published, had better start papers of their own. Capital, or in its absence, a plenty of hard work, is all that is necessary.

The Investigator, in referring to an idea of a free paper expressed in the following language: "It shall not reject on account of sentiment, doctrine, faith, or belief, what is offered in fair proportions, as to quantity, and expressed in perspicuous, decorous, wholesome language," says: "If this is all that is necessary to constitute a free paper, the world has not been so deficient in the article as is supposed, for there are now and have been for some years a number of such journals." If this be true, and I do not dispute it, is not the Investigator a little unfortunate in including in its Prospectus the following: "The Investigator being the only paper published in the known world, which takes the broad ground of freely investigating all subjects, moral, social, and religious," &c.

The truth is, the world is making very rapid progress, and we are little aware how many there are who have become really as liberal and tolerant as ourselves.

F. B.

More Facts Wanted.

The praises rather than the criticisms bestowed on a paper, are most likely to come to the editor's ear; but a correspondent has very kindly and properly written us that the *NEW REPUBLIC*, so far as some of its Contributors are concerned, at least, contains too much theorizing and too few facts. Now I differ with this friend. The world is full of facts. Ten thousand of them are clamoring for attention, at every step, at every turn of the eye. The only trouble is men do not know enough to properly reason upon them. Poor theorizing—misjudgment of the world full of facts piled up all around us—is of little account, surely, but of correct theorizing there is no present danger of having too much. The need is, not that we should furnish the world with more facts, for its dyspeptic stomach is already gorged with facts it cannot digest, but that we do what we can in the way of discovering the meaning of a few at least of this world of facts,—that we furnish a true method of theorizing upon them. Thus and thus only shall we be of any special value to those around us. Not more facts, but the ability to discern their meaning and connections, is what men need. Let us not "carry coals to Newcastle."

We have been advised to furnish war news in our columns. But there is a surfeit of war news. There is everywhere a tendency to extremes; and people become morally and intellectually sickly by brooding constantly over one subject,—by being constantly occupied with one kind of reading, whether it be the

Being, war news, novels or what not. It is true that people ceased cramming themselves with facts, details of the war or what else, and gave a little more thought to the real problem—to the how of adjusting and arranging. We have facts enough, we only lack the ability to understand them. If the New Republic shall do something toward solving the problems now urged upon the World's attention, it will have performed its mission.

F. B.

Shall the Negro be Allowed to Fight?

We make the following extract from a private letter from a friend in the army under McClellan: it is a practical view of a shrewd and practical observer:—

"What a gulf has passed between us since I commenced this letter to you, and wrote so far, when I was roused at midnight by the general order to fall back. The army had been dreadfully cut to pieces, though they fought with desperation, and must now march on night and day to ensure its salvation from a powerful and pursuing foe. Yet calm and serene as a summer morning, my faith grew stronger in God, and fear never for one moment overtook me. I acted as courier for Gen. McClellan, and made myself useful more than ever when danger came thickest. Now when the smoke and dust of the retreat has passed away, I see more clearly than ever the spirit power which held the scales in which for a time our destiny seemed to balance.

"Our army has been changed, with no greater loss than the enemy had, from a very dangerous and sickly position, to a safe and comparatively healthy region; from the swampy and barren region of the Chickahominy, to the broad and deep James, which runs through as beautiful a valley as there is the Union over.

"I never saw a more lovely landscape nor better crops. But this is not all, nor is it the greatest gain. The Nation has been transferred in three weeks time from the swamps and death damps of prejudice against the colored race, which foolishly and like the suicide, would exclude their service and allow them to throw their immense vital force into the hands of the rebels, whose only aim is to destroy our Nation.

"Never was there so great a change in so little time. Never until the falling back and the almost hopeless chance of this army, could the Nation see its danger. The idolatrous confidence in McClellan led men to reject the plainest duty and the commonest common sense. They were like the man who tied up one arm, lest he should punish his antagonist too severely. All this folly has given place to fear, and fear has adopted the shield which judgment and humanity have so long demanded.

"The Negro has been a slave and must which for centuries has feared to give the Negro a chance, lest he win the race, and mantle the white man's cheek with a crimson blush, have shown their coward's nature since this army has been beaten back, by calling on these same negroes to come to their help in some menial capacity, but not with a gun in hand, lest they disprove the oft-repeated and well-told lie, that 'a negro has no bravery and cannot make a soldier.' But just in time to chime in and make music with the onward progress of current events, comes the Hunter Letter. That letter, though late in coming, is an honest confession which does Hunter credit, and which no man in power dare now controvert. Old Abe, who so eagerly reproved Fremont and nullified his Proclamation, dare not now do what then he dared not omit doing."

Issues of the Rebellion.

Not Slavery, or the establishment of a new Government, alone is the issue of this gigantic Rebellion—a Rebellion that has swollen from the secession of South Carolina, to the conflict of over a million of armed men, and the patriotic or slanderous tongues of millions of women and men who are not warriors. Back of Slavery or a Government, and underlying both, are the great principles at issue in the controversy. They are three in number, and are, Free Lands, Free Labor, Free Schools; or the right of all men [and women] to land, labor and education, and the duty of Government to secure them to all the people. Sex and color are not involved in the controversy; but, Have all a right to land? have all a right to labor, and be honorable? have all a right to education?—these are the questions at issue. In the loyal States the people say aye,—in the rebel States, nay; and the policy of each is accordingly.

The legislation of the Northern States is constantly to divide, cheapen and improve the large tracts of unoccupied lands, and to secure in exemptions the homes of all families; while the opposite policy prevails in the South. So long as the South could control Congress, no Homestead bill could be passed, and the agrarian measures of the North were opposed, or looked upon with suspicion, as tending to destroy the manorial distinction of the old families and estates of Southern aristocrats. In the North the lands are divided, and the millions have titles in the soil, and homes to contend for, and an interest rooted in the Country and Government they are called on to sustain. In the South, only a few have an interest in the soil, and the many fight to sustain the power that robs them of their natural rights in the soil.

In the North, labor is general and respectable, and often honorable; and hence the productive industry of the North far exceeds that of the South, and the wealth is in the hands of the many instead of the few. In the South, labor is partial, mostly confined to slaves, and disgraceful to anybody else, especially females; and the wealth is in the hands of the few, earned by slaves, and by large tracts of land improved by slave labor.

In the North, free schools prevail over most of the country, and education is common, and the common property of all children, already secured to most of them as a right and inheritance; hence the poor have an interest in the Government as well as the rich. In the South, no such privilege exists, and no such right is acknowledged; the poor have very little interest of any kind to fight for, and if they aid the Rebellion, do it against their interests, and for the tyrants who oppress and rob them.

When the people realize these great issues, and know the true and real motives for the Rebellion, they will let the planters do their own fighting, or at least the poor will, if they can; but tyranny always finds a way to crowd soldiers into the ranks to fight its battles, and aid in supporting it to rob them.

WYNNIE CHAM.

Hastings, N. Y., July 11, 1862.

A Word from Aemceka.

DEAR EDITOR:—No. 12 of the NEW REPUBLIC is before me, containing your "Reply," which I finished a few moments since. What apology shall I offer for sending you an incomprehensible and incongruous article? Well, I have two or three pleas and excuses. First, Poetry is the rule, and Prose the exception with me; and as you are no judge of the former, I must acquaint you with some of its peculiarities. Digressions, frequent and sudden changes, seeming disorder in connections, are the habits of Verse. But these characteristics only enhance the beauties of Poetry, while if they chance to be introduced into Prose, the composition is often rendered confused and meritless. Poetry is Nature; Prose is Art; and often, in spite of myself, when I sit down to write a Prose article, the free, poet nature rises up and asserts its superiority, puts to flight the laws of logic and reason, introduces strange metaphors and allegories, wreathes stumbling blocks with roses, and instead of clearing away the stumps and stones with the stout lever of Philosophy, just tricks them out with some added loveliness, turning even their ugliness into something that I can love.

* * * * *

My soul just reaches out and helps itself to what it loves; and is foolish enough to wish that others should enjoy the same spirit aliment; fearing lest

they may choose that which shall bring blight and decay, rather than life and progression.

You say I do not define my position clearly. I suppose it is impossible for me to do so; for in every church, sect, and society, I have found some immortal truths which my soul endorses. Therefore, in one sense, I am a member of these different associations. Again, in all theories and creeds, I have found lies and inconsistencies which my soul rejects; so in another sense I have a home nowhere, but am continually reaching for the bosom of Truth as a resting place.

But if I am ever grieved, it is that prejudices and more times should divide a multitude that ought to be, and must be, all one brotherhood. Why will Skeptics, Spiritualists, Rationalists, and Church-proselyters, separate themselves, when all will agree that true goodness is obtained only by living in accordance with certain just and pure principles. What matters it whether we find them written in our souls, or whether we believe that Jesus once came and taught them to his disciples, through whose record and teachings we have become in tract 4? If we can all shake hands over a few vital truths, though we may differ as to their origin, let us consider the relation strong enough to constitute us all one family of brothers and sisters. Not all who say "Lord, Lord," are living a high and true life, but those "who do the will of my Father which is in heaven;" or in other words, those whose conduct is regulated by Love, Purity, and Charity. Therefore, let my Brother skeptic (not you, Mr. Editor) allow me to love the name of Jesus, without thinking that I am separated from him by such affection; for that same skeptic may be living a truer Christian life than myself, by practicing more perfectly the immortal principles which I find in Christ's word, but which he finds somewhere else.

Oh it is so strange that we dare to be cold and uncharitable in our judgments toward any living being! In my better moods I believe I have nothing but a feeling of pity, or a kind of love, for the vilest sinner, or my most artful enemy; for I never forget that done up in that vile rubbish, is a little piece of God, that claims my respect, and which will one day be divested of its dirty clings, and come out all glorious in itself. AEMCEKA.

Granite Hills, July 12, '62.

We say, the old forms of religion decay, and that a skepticism devastates the community. I do not think it can be cured or stayed by any modification of theologic creeds, much less by theologic discipline. The cure for false theology is motherwit. Forget your books and traditions, and obey your moral perceptions at this hour.—[Emerson.]

PROSPECTUS OF THE NEW REPUBLIC.

At a time so momentous as the present, there is an imperative demand for the exercise of all the wisdom, heroism, self-sacrifice, charity, and the forgetting of all past differences, and the sinking of all worldly ambition, in one sublime, prayerful, determined, brotherly effort to save our beloved country from the terrible ruin that more than threatens to swallow up our liberties, prosperity, peace. How to conquer the rebels, is not all of the great problem that must be settled before there is any certainty that we, as a Nation, have anything in the future to hope for.

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